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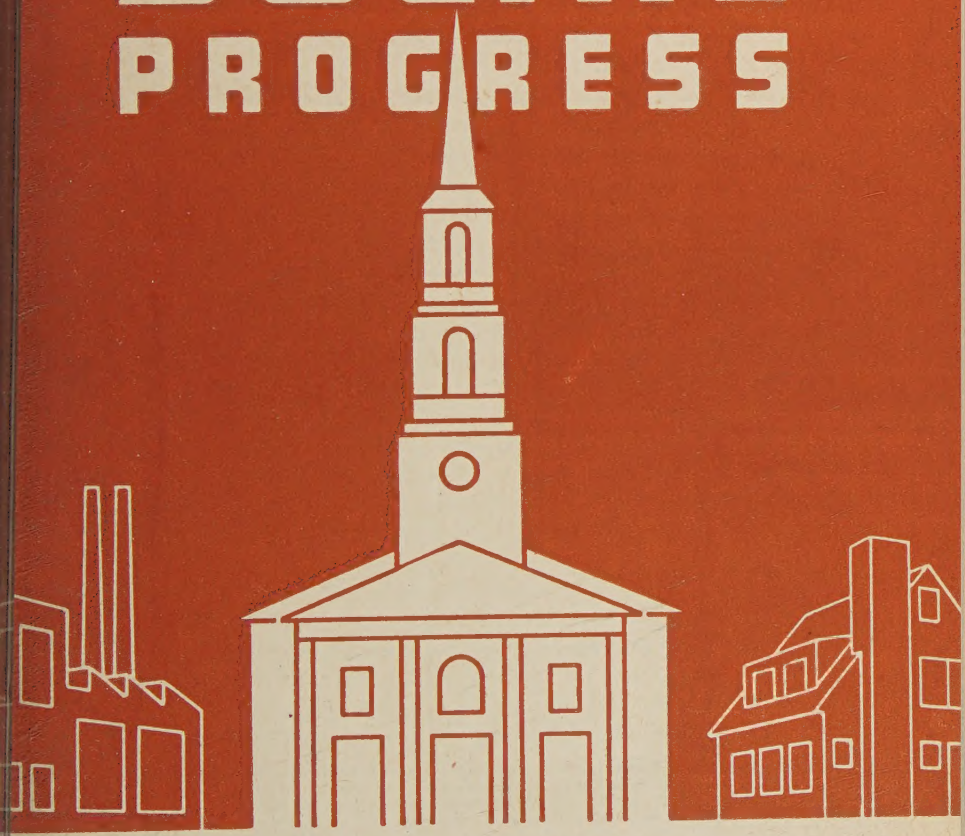

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Christian Responsibility for Democracy

By Harold W. Dodds *

A DEMOCRACY, such as the United States, rarely pauses to consider how deeply its democratic ideal is rooted in the Christian religion. If you favor a free society rather than one of tyranny, you do so by an act of faith. The basic principles of the social sciences were not derived from the study of anthropology, sociology, psychology, or economics. On the contrary, they are matters of faith, which antedate the methods of these scholarly subjects; they set the frame of reference for both science and citizenship; they stem from the roots of the Christian faith.

The democratic ideal is the Christian ideal because it alone accepts Christ's emphasis on the infinite value of the individual. His message envisioned freedom in religious terms long before democracy took a political form, or science and technology appeared to help to set men free.

Christians are responsible for what their Governments do, as well as for what they themselves do as individuals. One of the most annoying questions that a Christian can face is why it is that he fails so often to extend his moral code to his nation. Why does he permit, nay, often compel his Government to act toward other Governments in a way that would outrage his conscience if the action were between individuals?

There are natural reasons why man so often appears at his worst when acting in or for a group; but for Christians the significant truth is that the moral code applies to groups and nations as well as to persons; that we are personally responsible for the behavior of our nation, as for our own private conduct. There is no national oversoul which sets its own morality, beneath which the Christian can hide and escape his accountability to history.

One of the handicaps to democracy, in a big society like ours, is the tendency of citizens to become spectators of government, rather than participants. Yet it is the moral duty of the Christian, as a Christian, to participate. Because democracy best expresses the Christian ideal, Church members are particularly charged with preserving and extending it. But the future of democracy at home—domestic democracy—is inseparably bound up with world order. The world cannot continue to have both war and liberty. The time has come to choose between them. For the Christian who practices his faith there can be but one choice.

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* President, Princeton University. Remarks on the radio program, "The Church in Action," September 10, 1944.

Advance from Cleveland!

By John Paul Jones *

HE WHO is sparing with superlatives could let himself out a little if he had been at Cleveland last week. The National Study Conference of the Churches on a Just and Durable Peace was important, successful, and will exert a far-reaching influence.

You could find fault if you wanted to. There were weaknesses in the four-day conferences. Labor, organized and otherwise, was sparsely represented. Youth did not have its proper share in the considerations, although bald heads and gray hairs were by no means in preponderance. Precious time was wasted in the discussions, and there was a suggestion of arbitrariness at times when the leaders pulled the findings together. The clergy overbalanced the laity. There were inequalities. World organization threatened to overshadow the deep-rooted sources of world tragedy. Economics got less than its rightful share in the discussions—somebody commented that people couldn't see Bretton Woods for the Dumbarton Oaks.

The weaknesses, however, were minor. Strength, achieved in an intelligent and consecrated unity, characterized the conference. It got somewhere, and it has only just started!

I

The Federal Council's Commission set up a conference well timed and well planned. The preparation was excellent. Before the delegates left home they had received three comprehensive memorandums. These were prepared by groups of outstanding scholars and leaders of the Church, lay and clerical, headed by such people as William Ernest Hocking, Walter Horton, John Bennett, and Georgia Harkness. They were meaty and well defined memorandums. Walter Van Kirk and his colleagues knew what they wanted, and they rightly interpreted the mind and mood of the Protestant Church in America. Memorandum One was on "The Program of the Churches for World Order"; Memorandum Two, "The Churches and the Current International Situation"; Memorandum Three asked, "What Shall the Churches Now Do?" This was not all of the preparation. It reached back to the Delaware Conference of three years ago. It built on the "six pillars" which grew out of Delaware. It was a fitting continuation and culmination of a three-year progression.

The fundamental preparation,

* Minister, Union Church of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, New York, and President of the National Peace Conference.

however, is something that nobody should overlook. The successful and inspiring Cleveland Conference is indebted most of all to the Social Action Committees of the Protestant Churches. In the last quarter of a century they have prepared the ground for the development of Christian principles in social interpretation and social action. There could have been no conference of the nature of the one that assembled in Cleveland on January 16 had it not been for these pioneers in the field of social action. They have implemented and nurtured the work begun more than half a century ago by Rauschenbusch and his colleagues.

The men and women who gathered at Cleveland were not merely or primarily the strong and able minority who used to be labeled —and set aside—as the "social gospelers." The five hundred who gathered were able but they were representative of the whole Church. There was no longer any fundamental cleavage on the one time lamentable and erroneous but actual dividing line of personal and social religion. The bishops were there; so were the Board secretaries; executives, educators, missionaries; the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A.; state and city Church council secretaries; the businessmen, the social workers, the professors; officials of state and local government; editors and publishers; the farmers and the workers. North and South, East and West, black and white, left and right. But agreements and disagreements cut straight across the entire personnel. Over all was a remarkable unity of spirit and purpose. More than anything else the work of the Social Action fellowships had made this possible! This time nobody argued that the issues were outside the scope of religion.

II

The delegates got down to business in short order. They went to work much indebted to one man who lighted up the sense of purpose and direction. Now, it would be a mistake to name a few people as determining the nature and outcome of the conference. It would be misleading to mention even a score of names. Literally several score stood shoulder to shoulder. It was truly a community of minds. But everybody knew it was highly significant that a Christian layman of the type of John Foster Dulles was chairman of the Federal Council's Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. To a crowded audience, which included the delegates, in the Old Stone Church, Mr. Dulles opened the conference with a forthright declaration of the Church's responsibility in international affairs. He called upon the Christian forces to accept that responsibility without equivocation. He made clear the unhappy plight of the world if the

religious forces faltered and failed.

The conference went to work with an acute sense of tension. It was not a tension between one and another, but a tension within the individual minds and hearts. The delegates all knew that the Church must not become a quisling institution to any political state. Nevertheless, it was equally clear that Christians, that people of religion generally, must not be jockeyed into a position of isolation from the political realm at home or abroad. Renunciation of responsibility in practical, everyday affairs is both untenable and impossible. But how can people who give their full assent only to the perfect ideal participate in and support policies and institutions which fall short of that ideal? What is the will of God in situations mixed with evil, especially when no other situation seems at the moment possible? That was the center of the tension. By the time the conference concluded, there was all but universal conviction that an answer had been found, and therein lies the principal success of the gathering.

The method of procedure was in no small part responsible for the good results. First, there was a full session of all the delegates. Together they went over the high places of the three prepared memorandums. Then the conference divided into three groups, which for two days and six long sessions remained separate but worked along parallel lines. They debated and discussed the three memorandums and the implications thereof. For each memorandum each group had a chairman, cochairman, and secretary. These three, with such help as they desired from the group, formed a Findings Committee. These Findings Committees from the groups merged into a General Findings Committee. At the end of the six parallel group conferences, the delegates all came together again for three plenary sessions. They then had before them the work of the General Findings Committee to be debated, amended, improved, and adopted. It was work, and hard work. "Let me rest my head on your shoulder," said one of the delegates to a brother at the beginning of the last day. "What is the matter with you?" the brother inquired. The reply was, "I am on the General Findings Committee and I have had no time either to eat or sleep."

III

The findings will soon be available in full. They, of course, begin with a spiritual emphasis for the Church itself. There is a vigorous and inclusive reaffirmation of faith in the Spirit and Power sufficient for all things—too much theological language, perhaps, so that some will have to restate the faith. But

(Continued on page 29)

Private Property and Property Systems

By William Ernest Hocking *

THE opposition between systems of property, and in particular between capitalism and communism, has been and continues to be a source of strife between nations and of civil domestic discord, and constitutes a persistent cause of misunderstanding between the Soviet Republics and their allies. It behooves the Churches, therefore, to take cognizance of the situation. Protestantism has especial responsibility, since it has been historically associated with capitalism. On the other hand, there are voices within the Protestant Churches which would disclaim this association and call for a socialized economy as a requirement of the Christian ideal.

It is not by accident, but by a sound instinct, that British Churches, under the leadership of the late archbishop of Canterbury, attacked the problem of economic structure in Britain as a part of their effort toward reaching the roots of war. They felt that the struggle was a projection on the international plane of maladjustments which had their moral origin within the economic system at home. They examined that system in its basic principles; they criticized the profit motive; they raised doubts about the absoluteness of private property. Some were prepared to say that capitalism had shown itself an economic failure because it was a spiritual failure, and that the drift of the times is and ought to be away from a chaotic individualism and toward a planned society. A highly respected British writer, Mr. John MacMurray, makes this statement:

"The Christian Church can only recover its own essence when it stands unequivocally in the social order where Jesus stood: for the oppressed against the oppressors, for the poor against the rich, for the common people against the rulers both temporal and spiritual. It must become the instrument, not of law and order, but of spontaneity and love."

We do not accept these antitheses. Why need the Church disparage law and order for the sake of upholding spontaneity and love? The Church today as always must stand for the brotherhood of man and for the disadvantaged in every struggle for economic justice. But it can no longer adopt a primitive economy as an ideal. It can no longer assume that to lift the lowly it must destroy the facts of economic power. Economic power is not evil. It may

* Chairman, Department of Philosophy, Harvard University. This statement, expressing Dr. Hocking's own view, was submitted at the request of a discussion group on economic co-operation at the recent conference of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. It was widely discussed, but no formal action was taken. It is therefore not to be construed as part of the "Cleveland Conference Message."

be wickedly used. The function of the Church is to inspire it with responsibility and the will to serve. It is not to destroy the genius which has created our modern era, but to give that genius a sense of its unused fields of opportunity. It is not to condemn the profit motive as such, which may be evil but also may be good. It is not to reduce the rich to the level of the poor, but to raise the poor to the level of freedom, while increasing in rich and poor alike the hunger for a fraternal community of life which makes wide economic disparity distasteful and burdensome.

There is no great society today which does not contain both private property and common property. In this sense all modern economics are mixed economics. The Soviet Republics have found by experience that some private property in land is a condition of successful agriculture. During the last ten years they have recognized the importance of private property in the home in their provisions for the small homesteads within the communal farms, and in many other ways. During this same period the United States has moved sharply in the direction of public care for the public interest involved in property. We therefore offer the following analysis of the right of property as a means of resolving the confusion in which seeds of conflict lie.

The right of property arises not from the animal or material nature of man, but from his personality. Animals have needs and satisfactions, but not property. The right of property is derived from the fundamental right of the human person to its necessary means of life and development. The management of property is one indispensable means toward the development of human character.

This moral relation to material things is most complete in the case of private property, since it is only through individual use that individual character can be developed. This concept of property includes an individual's right to a job.

From this view of property, certain consequences follow:

1. Property right is not an absolute right. It exists only when and in so far as it serves the personal life of the owner; when it is so used as to be hostile to personal character or development, moral right to the property ceases. This occurs not only when the owner injures himself (as by the idle or indulgent use of property) but also when he ignores or injures the interests of others, or destroys values (as of natural resources) which property may have for others than himself. In this sense all property carries the obligations of trusteeship.

2. No form of society can abolish private property and build a strong citizenship. Hence no community or state can have *any* interest in the

abolition of private property. It does not, of course, follow that all property must be private.

3. No form of society can exist without a degree of common property if only in the common domain and avenues of communication; nor can any society flourish without a continual increase in the amount of common property, if only through the inheritance of permanent public works (roads, harbors, bridges, national parks, et cetera). The responsible use of common and public property, especially its prudent and economical use, may cultivate further traits as yet imperfectly developed in our democracies.

4. Where the use of property is "affected by a public interest" the public is justified in asserting that interest. We have, then, a third status of property, namely, private property upon whose use social agencies impinge.

5. It is the method of asserting the public interest in private property which brings about divergence of practice; at one extreme, the public may assume full ownership of such private property, or may take over the business of planning for its use. At the other extreme, the public may content itself with establishing standards for the private use of such property. Thus the conflict between advocates of private ownership and of collective operation occurs at the level of economic procedure and need not occur at that of the fundamental theory of rights. The Christian fellowship can include both views.

In our own judgment, while public planning has an important local function, especially in the protection of individuals and interests which are neglected by impersonal competitive processes, the policy of substituting public planning for private planning involves in general a serious social loss of the inventiveness and initiative associated with private ownership. But we do not believe that such differences in experimental economic attitudes, arising in part from historical circumstances and in part from actual limitations of available capital, are necessary occasions for international discord or civil strife. Nor do we believe that there is any intrinsic difficulty in political cooperation between societies pursuing different policies.

On the contrary, we believe that such differences should tend to lessen, and are tending to lessen, as each side in working out its program finds it wise to adopt in part the philosophy of the other. The contrast between dominantly capitalistic and dominantly communistic societies remains, but must lose its significance as a threat to world order as both sides free themselves of the motive of covetousness and accept the Christian principle of relating property to personality, and the human personality to God's will.

Benjamin Franklin — Tolerant American *

THE air is full of controversy and debate about the terms of the peace eventually to be made with the vanquished at the close of the war and the part that the United States will play in the proposed international organization. There could be no time more fitting, therefore, to read again and ponder the tolerant and moderate statement of Benjamin Franklin in support of the Constitution, when that document came up for final action by the states on September 17, 1787:

"I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure that I shall never approve them: for having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. . . .

"In these sentiments, Sir, I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general Government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered. . . .

"I doubt too whether any other convention we can obtain may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with these men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching as near perfection as it does, and I think it will astonish our enemies. . . .

"Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best."

For "Constitution" substitute "peace agreement," and Franklin's counsel is as valuable today as it was when uttered. There may be no perfect peace; there can be no dogmatic approach to even a workable one. This is a good day for men of good will everywhere to ponder the words of the man whose wisdom has stood the test of changing times.

* From an editorial in *The Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, January 19, 1945.

*Some Won't March Down Fifth Avenue**

By H. Roberta White

CHURCHES and denominational governing bodies are peering into the future of the postwar world and making plans for the acceptance back into civilian life of the men who have served harrowing months and years in defense of the principles of democracy. As the returning armies of men come marching down Fifth Avenue to their homes, their loved ones, and the kaleidoscopic existence of the civilian world, they will be welcomed by bands, flag wavings, and shouts of exultation. The Churches by that time will have established efficient programs for the absorption of these men into the Church's activities, for their rapid and successful rehabilitation, and for their readjustments. The Churches will have laid the groundwork for the best of guidance to be given these men in the period following their mustering out.

But as these hundreds of thousands of men come streaming back into civilian life with their problems, their difficulties, and their dreams, so also will come a much smaller group of men who too will have their difficulties of readjustment. They will not be welcomed by public demonstrations, but members of their families will receive them quietly and gratefully, taking them back into the circle of quiet and strengthening fellowship. These men will not march down expansive Fifth Avenue in a blaze of glory. Here and there a smoke jumper will meticulously fold his parachute for the last time and begin his journey homeward. Human guinea pigs will be restored to health and will climb aboard a train bound for home. Men in the Coast and Geodetic Survey will turn in their maps and charts to the Department of Commerce. Others will leave Civilian Public Service Camps, mental hospitals, training schools, and general hospitals. Grim prison doors will swing laboriously open to release still more. The conscientious objectors of World War II will be returning.

Some of these eleven thousand and more men will bring back with them frustrations, unconscious hostility, and disillusionments; others will return with enthusiasm and restlessness to get into peacetime employment. Like many of their brothers of the armed forces they will be filled with anxiousness over the future and the problem of continuing their interrupted education and careers.

The Churches are providing for the return of the servicemen, but

* From *Fellowship Magazine*, December, 1944. Used with permission.

what of the plans for the returning conscientious objectors? Some members of the clergy are frank to admit that they do not expect to be faced with the problem of the returning objectors, either because they have had none go out from their Churches or because they do not expect them to return to the home Church when the war has ended.

Perhaps one of the reasons so few Church leaders are planning any type of program for these returning men of the minority is that the leaders themselves are unaware of the needs of the men in Civilian Public Service and of any specific program to reorient them. Representatives of the American Friends Service Committee are finding an amazing lack of information among ministers outside the historic peace Churches regarding the beliefs of the objectors and the work in which they are engaged. If this lack of information is common among the clergy, what must the condition be among the laity?

Immediately, the problem of the Church and the returning conscientious objectors becomes one of education. Before any postwar program within the Church can be proposed and adopted for them there must be an educational process developed as a background to their homecoming. This must include educating the members at home and the one to return home.

Educate the Church Members

The first step regards the membership of the Church. The at-home group, as an expression of its religious tolerance, must be skillfully led through an educational process to an understanding of the conscientious objector and his principles. The membership must come to realize that for the most part the conscientious objectors today are the result of the teachings of the Church and of the application of the principles of Christ whom they also follow. As the membership is led in the understanding of what makes an objector *object*, it need not feel that this learning and understanding constitutes acceptance of the principles.

Before the conscientious objectors return to the Church it would be well for the membership to come to know some pacifist who holds a place of leadership in the community, and who will come open-mindedly to the Church and explain to the laymen the stand which has been taken by these C.P.S. men of World War II. The guest speaker, well versed in the aspersions cast at the conscientious objectors, should be of keen intellect and full of tolerance, admired by the community, and able to face the give-and-take of an open discussion. The educational process for the Church membership might well start with small groups of men or women and eventually be expanded to include the entire congre-

gation, not forgetting the youth, of course.

Coupled with this, some of the laity could be guided to make the request for a session with some man in C.P.S., in a near-by camp or detached service unit, who might come to the Church and make the acquaintance of the membership in order that they might come to know the current aspects of the C.P.S. program. This would be advisable, even though the Church in question had no conscientious objectors among its members.

Important now as never before is the need for fellow Christians to learn to walk together. Differences of opinion need not be the turntable upon which they reverse their relationships and sever kinships with those with whom they have been associated in Christian fellowship. Too many people regard the men with 4-E ratings as "queers." Anyone who understands the beliefs of the conscientious objector knows this is not so.

Educate the Conscientious Objectors

The other side of this educational process for the returning conscientious objector has to do with him personally and the help that the Church can give him. Many conscientious objectors from the last World War will be able to provide assistance in helping both the Church and the individual to anticipate the adjustment that must be made by the objectors as they return to civilian life.

What then shall be the process of education regarding these men in C.P.S.? What shall be done with those who feel they have been deserted by the very institution that engendered in their hearts, or at least solidified their belief in, pacifism? Some will have become cynical regarding the Church to the point of being intolerant of the Church people who do not agree with them, at the same time failing to realize that their own intolerance reaches the same magnitude as that of the civilian. Members of neither group can see the inconsistency of this intolerance in the light of their Christian beliefs and practices.

Another problem will be that of helping the conscientious objectors to understand the attitudes expressed by the men of the armed forces they meet in the peacetime world, by the chaplains, and by those who have stayed at home.

The Episcopal Church seems to be the pace setter in this regard. Looking forward to the postwar world, this denomination is now planning to send into all C.P.S. camps ministers or laymen trained in counseling, to make contacts with all Episcopal conscientious objectors, talking with them, discussing and listening to their problems, and helping these men to clarify their thinking or to

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*Toward a Democratic America**

By Agnes E. Meyer

The author of the widely read and much discussed Journey Through Chaos *on the background of that "journey" evaluates the strength and limitations of voluntary welfare services and suggests the opportunities for effective services and their need for reorganization.*

RATHER than discuss the endeavors of the Church in the social field from the Church's own point of view, I should like to analyze the challenge that now confronts all private voluntary welfare work of which the work of the Church is an inseparable part.

Let me begin with the broadest generalities. It became daily more clear to me, as I explored the most varied towns and cities on my recent journey through the nation's war centers, that we are in the grip of a revolution which I had already seen in Great Britain, a movement of the hitherto inarticulate mass of the people for a new place in the sun.

The education which the millions of war workers have derived from their migrations, from the training they received and the money they earned in the factories, from working side by side with different kinds of people, has multiplied our industrial population and set a ferment in motion that will not come to rest unless the new hopes aroused in many breasts are recognized as legitimate and given the satisfaction which they deserve. The ultimate question is whether democracy is better fitted than Fascism or Communism to satisfy these yearnings. The war, with all its ferocity, is only the first step in that debate. When it is concluded we shall still have to win the ideological war against authoritarianism and prove our ability to organize the bright new world that struggles to be born.

Needs in War Centers

The conflicts in the war centers between the war workers and the well-to-do native population proved to what an extent we are still dominated by a middle-class culture at a moment when the middle-class concept of democracy is dying if not dead. What our intrenched *bourgeoisie* must recognize is that democracy is greater than the middle-class liberalism which nourished its early growth. The Protestant Church, as one of the pillars of that democratic middle-class liberalism, is peculiarly involved in the whole problem and must do its share to help our country to find new and broader social patterns for

* Condensed from an address to the National Conference on the Ministry of the Church to Shifting War Workers, Atlantic City, New Jersey, January 10, 1945.

a more generous, tolerant, and inclusive democracy before that democracy bursts the bonds which now prevent its birth. The power which the C.I.O. revealed in the last national elections is just one straw in the wind and surprised only those people who have not seen and felt the repercussions of total war upon the American people.

What do the war workers want? They want a more orderly world here at home, but they want it not only for selfish reasons. They want the United States to be so democratized and so strong that the quality of our national spirit, its validity and integrity, will convince the world of our international intentions. They want firm ground under their own feet here at home as the prime necessity for the big international task that lies ahead. They want jobs, better housing, and better opportunity for their children than they themselves enjoyed. Above all things they want a Government that respects their new sense of personal dignity and their wish to play an individual part in the destiny now beckoning to this nation.

These passionate aspirations are not unmixed with fears. Many of the war workers, just off relief, have jobs for the first time in their lives. Skepticism as to jobs after the war is great. Deep distrust and the highest patriotic fervor frequently reside in the same breast. The American people are ready for a crusade to save the world. But failure to show them the way will create a wave of violent resentment, such as this country has never seen.

The "Voluntarism of Democracy"

State and community leaders realize that local efforts alone cannot solve nationwide problems; that a smooth transition to the postwar world can be accomplished only if, in the economic field, the Federal Government learns to co-operate with management and labor to create jobs, and, in the field of administration, learns to function in a democratic partnership with the states and local communities as a buttress against Fascism and Communism.

Whether I talked with state governors, industrial, labor, or civic leaders, all of them, regardless of political affiliation, resented the haphazard Federal leadership which the home front has had during the war. All of them are convinced that Washington tried to settle their numerous difficulties in a high-handed and often restrictive manner. The labor unions, which received the most consideration, oddly enough are just as vociferous as anybody else. For sharp increase in Federal authority without a commensurate increase of efficiency is, I assure you, a truly frightening spectacle in our vast country.

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The Church in Rural Life

By Henry S. Randolph *

THE rural life movement has been concerned primarily with people, their welfare, comfort, and happiness; with more abundant life for the farmer, his wife and children. Also, it has recognized that the rural family and home are more important than any other rural organizations, for they are at the very center of the rural life movement. In no section of our society is there more hope for wholesome family life than there is in rural communities.

The rural Church must be deeply concerned about the *quality* of life attainable for farm people. The Church, as no other institution, is in a position to provide the ideals for ennobling and dignifying the personality of rural people. It is under the leadership of the Church that the farmer will create within his own soul an appreciation of the dignity and value of agriculture as a vocation, and as a good way of life. Likewise, the rural home and family will be exalted, as co-operators with God, as they feed, clothe, and shelter other human beings in the Kingdom of God around the world. With this will come a spiritual comfort and happiness, better homes, food, and health for the farmer and his family.

* Secretary, Religious Work. Excerpts from an address given at the National Convocation on the Church in Town and Country, Elgin, Illinois, November, 1944.

The Rural Community

The rural community, composed of individuals, families, and social organizations bound together by traditional, social, educational, economic, and religious relationships, has come to have national significance.

The automobile, tractor, telephone, and radio have profoundly affected the rural community within the past two decades. Its radius has been greatly increased; some old and small neighborhoods have become disintegrated; but now community boundaries have been drawn, involving new relationships. It is my opinion that the rural community will survive any changes produced by agricultural technology, and the individual will feel that he belongs and has responsibility for participation in its building.

The rural life movement has been zealous in its efforts to preserve the community as the local planning and action group for all rural progress. Each member of the progressive community must have a creative working part in the life of the community, building resources necessary to give the satisfactions of religion, health, education, and recreation.

The Church is committed to the building of the Christian com-

munity. It must provide the community with competent leadership, leadership that can give mature counsel in the general social welfare of its citizens, as well as Christian ideals and ethics.

Land Tenure

It is reported by the Department of Agriculture that 85 per cent of the land in the United States is used for agriculture. The rural life movement has had a profound interest in this land, knowing that it can be worn out, and also that it need not wear out if it is properly managed.

There is a close correlation between the condition of the soil and community institutions. Under desirable conditions of land tenure, if the soil is good, the locally supported institutions, schools, and Churches are good. If the land is poor, it usually follows that homes are impoverished, schools are weak, Churches are ill-kept and shepherdless, and the people are lost. Material, social, and religious prosperity of rural people usually go hand in hand. Back of all human security must be the security of our physical resources, because both human opportunity and security in the final analysis are built on the permanent productivity of the land. Thus wise land use has a moral and spiritual value.

General opinion in this country among leaders in the rural life movement is that an ideal agricultural economy must be based on the wisest possible measure of full and free ownership of farm lands by those who farm them. A large part of agricultural security rests on the circumstances of land ownership and land use that will enable farmers to produce enough for the whole population, give them an equitable standard of living, and at the same time permit them to take care of the land.

I take it that we believe in the family farm and in the many measures which have been instituted to maintain it. Any general retreat from farm operator ownership constitutes a source of social confusion and doubt. The census of 1940 recorded more than 2,330,000 farms operated by tenants and croppers, or nearly 40 per cent of all farms in the United States. These are farmed by people who own no land. Actually only one farmer out of three in this "the richest domain on the face of the earth" owns farm land free of mortgage debt. We are no longer a nation of freeholders living on the land.

Ownership of land by the man who works it leads to a stable, secure farm population, living on the land from choice and not from compulsion—which is the difference between peasantry and the American ideal.

Our farmers must be provided with a land system that will give

security for themselves and their families, that will guarantee them a decent living standard, vesting them with hope and ambition, relieving them from drudgery and servitude, giving them a sense of living as a part of a free democratic nation.

The local Church should promote and encourage in every possible way the farmer-ownership type of land tenure. Wherever land tenure is on the landlord-tenant basis, the Church must advocate a Christian sharing of the income from the soil and inspire the leadership of the rural Church to co-operate wisely and enthusiastically with the various Government agencies, such as the Farm Security Administration, interested in better land tenure conditions of farm people. The local minister can do more than anyone else to secure co-operation between such agents and the people.

Local Churches should be encouraged to become voluntary agents to help farmers to locate on favorable farm land in the community. They should set up local credit unions for the purpose of helping deserving farmers to buy their own land. They should give serious consideration to a co-operative Church homesteading program, so that through mutual aid and sharing more people of the community may own land, equipment, and livestock for successful farming. This Convocation should go on record advising our Church boards, which hold great permanent funds in various types of stocks, bonds, mortgages, and other securities, to make money available from such funds for investment in farm homesteading projects, when such projects are well organized and of such a character as will serve the people, the community, and the Church.

The Church throughout the nation must become more concerned about the security of the farmer on the land even at the point of taking issue with the large commercial interests in agriculture.

Farmers are not unusual human beings. They too want life and all the things which abundant civilized living has to offer. They crave all the comforts enjoyed by city people. They want modern cultural, health, and recreational advantages. All too often these advantages have not been obtainable on the farms, and the farmer has been doomed to an inferior sort of life. Consequently, many farmers have left the land.

Living Conditions

At this point Charles Josiah Galpin would say, "Spiritless toil, lacking interest, never stirring hope or imagination, has received, I believe, notice of its dismissal; and into its stead have entered, arm in arm, interesting work and needed recreation, those two filling the room of menial toil."[1]

(Continued on page 34)

[1] *My Philosophy of Rural Life*, page 5.

Business Has a Stake in World Order

By Harland H. Allen *

The following was Mr. Allen's contribution to a recent symposium at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, on the general subject of "What Price a Durable Peace?" We are glad to present it here as a clear, logical, and unbiased view of the stake of business in a world in which "free enterprise" can survive and still be free.

AS LONG as the destruction of war could be kept within bounds, there was always possibility that business as a whole might seem to benefit. But modern war can never again be rated as profitable. It is too comprehensive in destruction. It is too disorganizing even on the home fronts, even when it is from one to five thousand miles away.

Certainly no other group should be more concerned than businessmen to learn the price of assured and durable peace and to pay whatever the price may be. Many other groups—farmers, teachers, scientists, skilled labor, the custodians of health—may be able to continue their services to society past the cataclysm of another war, but it is hard to believe that the services of anything resembling free enterprise will be adequate to the monumental job of restoring a thousand Stalingrads after a third world war.

The Economic Cost of Peace

What is the price of a durable peace? I think this question is much more practical and down to earth than is commonly assumed. A durable peace must involve two things. It must involve a workable economy that is self-sustaining as to purchasing power—one that does not continually get out of balance and drive men and nations into piratical search for markets, for jobs, for special concessions in raw materials, or for new frontiers (which the Germans call *Lebensraum*) in order to keep going. Also, a durable peace must include enough world organization to make men and nations safe from such depredation. It is almost as simple as that!

The man who wants private enterprise to survive for more than a generation must think in terms of achieving an organization of home enterprise that will provide its own buying power—a buying power to match modern productive power.

Business must no longer disregard the fact that people in many parts of the world in recent years have been increasingly inclined to assume that only state enterprise may be able to cope adequately with both

* Chicago business counselor and distributor of *Harland Allen Economic Letter* from which this article is condensed with permission.

sides of the economic problem—production and consumption.

Fortunately, in some civilized areas, where people have been less willing than the extremists of the left to accept statism, but more determined than extremists of the right to find a workable solution without imperialism or special privilege, they had achieved, before the present war, what in Sweden has been called "the middle way." To many thoughtful observers this balanced usage of collectivism and individualism has seemed to suggest the method, or the price, of a durable peace. Certainly, such countries as Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Denmark, with their use of the state for structural planning and the provision of essential industrial services at nondiscriminating cost; with their use of cooperation among consumers to conserve purchasing power, to control monopoly, and to keep mass consumption on a par with mass production; with their use of free enterprise for its individual incentive and production efficiency, had achieved superior economic stability before this war, and had done so without the benefit of well-rounded geographic resources.

By contrast, the great powers of the Western world have been sustaining their economies in part during recent decades by the intake of purchasing power from abroad or by the expansion of indebtedness at home. The prewar economy of Great Britain had been relying on payments from the outside world for a substantial part of its domestic purchasing power—actually, enough to absorb one third to two fifths of its total imports (the excess of imports over exports). And when the world collapse of raw material prices in the early thirties brought reduced ability of debtors to pay, the British economy was severely punished. France suffered even more from parallel causes, so that when later the French way of life was challenged by its enemies, the will to defend it had been undermined.

I need not dwell on the vast unemployment in America and the jeopardy of many of our institutions when, after 1929, American bankers found it impossible to sustain confidence further in the credit of war-inflated or war-weakened countries which had been taking our surplus production through loans.

The Political Cost of Peace

Of course, Hitler proved that it was not enough for his small neighboring countries to have healthy economies—self-sustaining economies. Like an unarmed person of whatever strength and vigor, their health could not resist his mechanized might. These countries needed something else. They needed the collective security of a union of nations, which most of

their leaders had tried desperately hard to achieve at Geneva. They needed—and please be sure to get this point—they needed an international bar of justice before which complainants like Germany and Japan could be haled, and where their claims might be appraised in terms of equity for all; where complaints, if valid, might find the backing of inexorable world opinion rather than transitory Axis might.

Britain, France, and America also needed such a potent world organization. And they might have been ready to pay the price if they had only understood, in time, that working with the smaller nations for *equal* justice would prove far less dangerous and costly than would keeping their reliance on individual national power.

Isolationism is supposed to be dead. Certainly in the form it took before Pearl Harbor it would not now appeal to rational Americans. But the same kind of inadequate thinking on world problems is very much in evidence today, proposing the substitution of regionalism or alliances for collective security; urging the still more dangerous philosophy of American dominion of the sea and the air; demanding permanent military bases for this country in distant parts of the world. Sumner Welles has said wisely in a recent address that "the two policies between which they [the American people] may be forced to make their choice will be a policy of true world organization and a policy based upon military alliances, the indefinite piling up of armaments and their inevitable adjunct, stark imperialism." If the people of the United States pin their faith to military alliance as the cure for ills from which the world is suffering, "they will find themselves compelled to adopt as their national policy, after a few uneasy years, a course of unremitting armaments-building and of territorial aggrandizement as the only method by which they can then achieve physical security."

The Businessman's Stake

The businessman's stake in world organization for a just peace is his biggest stake of the twentieth century. It is his only hope for avoiding new rivalries that will lead to new appropriations for war on a scale that would wipe out the contractual structure of our present economy. With total Federal debt at the end of this war approximating the total wealth of the nation, there cannot be a great remaining margin of credit. We must choose a national policy that can be followed without the use of force in war or commerce.

It is not enough to say that we will *share* with Russia and Britain the right to rule the world. That is still force instead of justice, and

(Continued on page 35)

"With All Thy Mind"

Paul wrote to the Corinthians that if love is lacking, then many things that seem good lose their value. But he did not go to the other extreme and declare that if love is present, then nothing else is needed. Nor did Jesus. Affirming the insight that came out of Israel, he said that love toward God includes among other things the will and the mind as well. By itself good will is not enough.

Francis of Assisi shows that creative love is not dependent for its inner fires upon a high-school education, much less a Ph.D. But ignorance does render good will impotent to express itself at many points where it yearns to be effective in life. The good will that seeks to mitigate the curse of cancer is cut off from being effective because it lacks understanding of the cause and cure of cancer. The good will through the nation toward the returning soldier veteran will be impotent without some such device as the G. I. Bill of Rights through which it can be actively expressed.

This is why it is not enough "to be a Christian," as that term is so frequently understood. One must bring the purposes of one's life as a Christian under the discipline of understanding how those purposes may be lived here and now, and never more so than when one seeks to be a Christian in the social order. What does it mean for a Christian "to be for peace"? Nearly five hundred leaders of Protestantism spent four days in January seeking an understanding of what that calls for today. These delegates went on farther, calling for two other similar national study conferences of the Churches: one to be concerned with race relations and the other with industrial relations and rural economics. The Biblical teaching that "God is no respecter of persons" has vital bearing on the relations between white persons and Negroes, but by itself it does not give the answers to the issues that are currently paramount. Jesus' words, "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath," impel us to a concern for the economic order, but in themselves they are not a guide to what the Cleveland Conference calls "an experimentation in different types of property: private, co-operative, and public."

This is not to infer that God expects each of us to become an expert or even an authority on all or any of the community and social issues of today. But it does mean that love for Christ, and good will toward men, is not a release from, but, instead, a demand for thought, study, and understanding; in short, for social education.

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Locating the Issue

In its last two biennial meetings, the Federal Council of Churches has made important statements bearing upon the Roman Catholic Church, and in both the religious and the secular press the points of concern and disagreement between these two groups are being openly debated. Such discussion may lead to salutary consequences; or it may degenerate into the worst kind of name-calling and bitter controversy. The outcome will depend upon the ability of both Protestants and Roman Catholics to keep the issue clear. Protestants also should keep clearly in view the points of agreement with the Roman Catholics even while dealing with differences.

First, the controversy is not about *religious* Roman Catholicism. As the Federal Council of Churches declared in its recent statement: "In taking this public stand we desire to make it clear that we are not speaking against Roman Catholicism as a form of Christian faith and worship. We recognize it as one of the great branches of Christendom."

Secondly, the controversy is not over the expansionist tendencies of Roman Catholicism. Roman Catholics have the same right to seek new adherents in rural America as Protestants have in Latin America.

Thirdly, Roman Catholicism as an ally in many worthy social causes is also unquestioned. To quote the Federal Council of Churches again: "We earnestly seek every opportunity to co-operate with Roman Catholics, as Christian brethren, in common efforts for the welfare of mankind."

Where, then, is the area of controversy? It is at the point of religious liberty, with its bearing upon the relation of Church and State. The controversy is sharpened currently by the statement by the Roman Catholic bishops in November, 1942, and by Msgr. John A. Ryan, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, in his book *Catholic Principles of Politics*, published in 1940. The bishops' statement denounced the Protestant missionary activity in Latin America as a menace to the Good Neighbor Policy, and Msgr. Ryan stated the necessity in principle for Roman Catholic intolerance of another faith. Obviously, these positions confront the Protestants with a direct challenge. But even here it should be remembered that the thinking of American Roman Catholic laymen on these matters is far more conditioned by democratic presuppositions than is that of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The issue of religious liberty is of great importance, but we shall help to keep the discussion upon a constructive path if, while not minimizing its importance, we keep it from coloring every aspect of our relationship with Roman Catholics.

Nazi Ideas in America

By Henry Smith Leiper *

AS THE conquest of Hitlerism roars to a dramatic military climax, it is sobering to contemplate the increasing evidences of advancing Hitlerite ideas in America.

First and most obvious is the increasing acceptance of the notion that all Germans are Hitlerites and that Hitler has been the perfect incarnation of the national spirit. This is Hitlerism in reverse and needs to be recognized for what it is: a major lie, which, if repeated often enough, tends to be believed.

Second is the rising chorus of praise for the idea of "white supremacy." Turn where one may, the words are in the minds of an increasing number of Americans. Classic expression to this deadly enemy of future peace, in a world two thirds nonwhite in population, is given by the Legislature of the State of South Carolina. It will be recalled that its members pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their honor to maintain white supremacy.

Third is the notion that by military might or the threat of it we can dominate the world and hold all nations in line with what we deem to be the right kind of public order. No comment here is necessary. Hitler remarked in *Mein Kampf* that it might be all right to talk about peace and disarmament when the lordly people had come to dominate the world!

Fourth is the proposal to disregard all Constitutional processes in order to forbid citizens of certain ancestry the right to live or do business where they please. Indeed, some Americans would make the Declaration of Independence read in effect: "Men . . . [white, Anglo-Saxon, native-born, Gentile, American] are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." Not all who advocate this policy are avowed enemies of democracy or scorners of the Christian virtues. They should be reminded that they are on firm Hitlerite ground when they take such a stand against the soul of democracy.

Fifth is the appalling spread of anti-Semitism in this country. The planting by assiduous Bundists and others of Hitler's five great lies about the Jews has already yielded a harvest of fanaticism which it is necessary to face and to take into account.

Over 40 per cent of the anti-Semitic literature circulated in America prior to the war was printed in Germany and a further 20 per cent was copied or para-

* Executive Secretary, Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, New York City. Reprinted from *Christianity and Crisis*, October 2, 1944.

phrased from Nazi originals. What the Bundists planted was a colossal fivefold lie. Its five component parts should be recognized by alert patriots for what they are.

1. "Jews caused the world war." Slogans to that effect are openly appearing in certain American cities on factory walls and elsewhere. In more subtle forms the same lie is being passed along even by ministers of the Gospel. No intelligent person need be told how unspeakably false is such reasoning.

2. "Jews dominate the press of America." It appears that hardly any Americans know that 93 per cent of our newspaper readers read a Gentile-owned-and-controlled daily press.

3. "Jews are naturally Communists." The fact is that a Gentile in America stands double the Jew's chance of being a Communist.

4. "Jews are naturally criminals." The fact that records of the courts show that Jews are less likely to be involved in crimes against the human person than non-Jews never gives a moment's pause to the peddlers of this bold-faced lie.

5. "Jews owned everything in Germany and will soon own everything in America. Thus they seek to dominate the Government and ultimately all governments." Challenge the man who says that and you will discover that he does not even know how many Jews there were in Germany, how many there are in the United States or in the world. In fact he does not *know* anything, not even that he is parroting a favorite Hitlerite slogan of the twenties.

Actual tests in various parts of this country in recent weeks among companies of ministers reveal the fact that most of them when asked do not even know how many Jews there are in this country, let alone the actual proportion of Jews to non-Jews throughout the world.

It is not enough to meet this deadly menace with the determination to keep one's own mind free from prejudice and misinformation. The best defense here is a well-planned offense. The Churches must undertake it on a wide scale. What is being done by the National Conference of Christians and Jews is excellent. But it is not enough if the dread epidemic of internal racial bigotry and ultimate violence is to be checked.

If one recalls the bland indifference of the German Churches toward this same campaign against covenanted rights and simple truth in the early thirties and then witnessed the hellish results of what they tossed off as mere political humbug, one cannot look with indifference upon the multiplying signs that the same monstrous evil is afoot in America.

The world peace front is not the only front on which we might lose this war. The home front stands in peril which we ignore at tragic cost.

The Church Signs Up

By John Coburn *

AT THE recent session of the General Council of the United Church of Canada a most important decision was made—important for the Church and for the organized labor movement. For years the unionization of the United Church Publishing House, the largest printing plant in Canada, had been a subject of debate both within and without the Church. A former General Council and its executives had urged complete union. It is to the credit of the Board of Publications that there was no complaint as to wages, working conditions, or the treatment received by employees. In some cases wages higher than union wages were paid. It was felt, however, that in view of the forthright pronouncements made by the United Church on labor issues it was inconsistent that its own printing plant should not conform to the most progressive procedure.

A delegation from the Toronto Allied Printing Trades went to London and asked to be heard by the General Council. The Council decided, however, that merely to allow the delegation to make a statement of its case would be inadequate. The Council, therefore, appointed a strong representative committee of twelve. It instructed this committee to hear all that the trade-union representatives, on the one hand, and the officers of the Board of Publications, on the other, had to say on the matter. The committee had the two parties face to face for five hours. After carefully considering all that had been alleged by both parties, this committee presented its report:

"The committee expresses its appreciation of the efforts made both by the Board of Publications and the Toronto Allied Printing Trades Council to effect a collective-bargaining agreement, but as no mutually satisfactory agreement has been reached, the committee, therefore, while making no pronouncement on the question of the closed shop in general, but confining ourselves to our own practical concern, recommends:

"That this Council instruct the Board of Publications to sign a Collective Bargaining Agreement with their employees in the Mechanical Departments of the United Church Publishing House, as represented by the Toronto Typographical Union No. 91; Toronto Mailers' Union No. 5; Toronto Bookbinders and Bindery Women's Union No. 28; Toronto Printing Pressmen & Assistants' Union No. 10; Toronto Stereotypers

* Associate Secretary, Department of Evangelism and Social Service, United Church of Canada. From Canadian Bulletin of the Toronto Religion-Labour Foundation.

and Electrotypers' Union No. 21, such agreement to stipulate:

"(*a*) All employees of the United Church Publishing House now members of the above-mentioned unions shall maintain their membership in good standing during the life of this agreement, as a condition of employment.

"(*b*) All new employees shall be members of the Unions or become members within thirty days of the date of entering employment, as a condition of employment.

"(*c*) Present employees under 60 years of age, or having less than 20 years' service, be required to join the union within thirty days of the date of signing the agreement, as a condition of employment.

"(*d*) In the event of failure to reach agreement a Board of Arbitration shall be set up, consisting of two representatives from the Toronto Allied Printing Trades Council, two from the Board of Publications, and a chairman to be mutually agreed upon, and failing such an agreement to be selected by the Regional War Relations Board for Toronto; the finding of the Board of Arbitration to be final and the cost of the chairman to be borne equally by both parties.

"(*e*) All the above stipulations to be subject to National Selective Service, Veterans' Re-establishment, and other Government regulations."

The debate was long and vigorous, but was conducted on a very high level, and was entirely worthy of the Church and of the issue at stake. On the one side a strong plea was made for the freedom of the workmen who did not desire to join the union. On the other, it was urged that the worker who was willing to accept all the benefits of trade-unionism and at the same time evade bearing his share of responsibility and cost was not entitled to much consideration. The advantages accruing to the great mass of workers should outweigh the claims of recalcitrant individuals. It was further urged that the Council, having heard only one side of the case, to reject the report of a committee of twelve trusted members who had heard both sides would be both unfair and undignified.

Two attempts were made to sidetrack the issue. One was a motion to appoint a commission to investigate and report to the Council two years hence, but the Council would have none of it. The committee's report was sustained by a vote of between three and four to one. When the decision was announced, Rev. G. H. Dickinson, book steward, arose and declared that he would be in this matter "an obedient servant of the Church." The official representative of *The Christian Century* later expressed the opinion that this action had placed the United Church of Canada in the forefront of all the Churches on the labor question.

Sanctuary

*Prayers for a New World Order**

A Litany for a Just and Durable Peace[1]

Thanksgiving

Almighty God, for thy righteous rule over all men and nations; for thy Christ in whom thou dost confront us all with judgment and with mercy; for thy Church, the creation of thy Spirit and the steward of thy purposes; for thy Kingdom unconquerable in justice, mercy, and truth;

We praise thee, O God.

For that Christian faith which demonstrates its strength in adversity; which affirms the worth of every man in thy sight; which reverences the aspirations, the convictions, and the freedom of mankind; which believes in the power of truth against falsehood, of right against wrong, of trust against suspicion, of good will against force;

We praise thee, O God.

For the Church of Christ uniting men in a world fellowship transcending nation and race and class; calling the world constantly to new faith, new conscience, and new hope; having compassion for the misery and sin of all peoples; sending into the world emissaries of that Christian love and good will which are the hope of the world;

We praise thee, O God.

Intercession

That we as a nation may remember in penitence our personal and national shortcoming; that we may be freed from blind devotion to national sovereignty, from the selfishness which refuses to recognize that we are members one of another, from intolerance and discrimination, from the spirit of vengeance;

We pray thee, O Lord.

That the proposals for an international organization may come to a worthy fruition in which the nations shall unite democratically in order of law, of common rights, of regard for all peoples, and of peace; that our nation may steadily, fearlessly, and skillfully battle for such ideals; that mankind may move on toward this world unity to which people of all lands aspire;

We pray thee, O Lord.

That basic human rights may be universally respected; that unfair laws may be repealed; that race prejudice may yield to race appreciation; that religious liberty and equal opportunity for all races may be firmly established;

We pray thee, O Lord.

That in the coming peace, the settlement may be inspired by the desire for ultimate reconciliation of victors and vanquished; that the will to war may be removed; that reconstruction of livelihood and life may proceed quickly and

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* Prepared by Deane Edwards, Commission on Worship, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

[1] This litany is based on "A Message to the Churches from the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace," held in Cleveland, Ohio, January 16-19, 1945.

justly; that such collaboration may be established among all nations, large and small, victors and vanquished, that the world may find the reality of brotherhood and peace;

We pray thee, O Lord.

That in the midst of the present opportunity, the Church may bring into play the fullness of its power; that it may have greater depth of faith, greater fortitude and courage, more fervent prayer, more wholehearted devotion to its Lord, a more universal experience of his forgiving and creative grace; that it may find afresh the fullness of divine resources and lead the way toward the Kingdom and eternal righteousness;

We pray thee, O Lord.

Hymns of Christian Patriotism [2]

"Long Ago a Prophet Sang." [3]—Tune, "St. Athanasius."

Long ago a prophet sang
Of a nation that should be
Servant unto God and man,
And should set the nations free.
God our Father, by Thy grace
May our country fill that place.

Faithful must that servant be,
Not to falter or despair,
Till throughout the earth he see
Justice reigning everywhere.
God, we pray Thee from the heart
Help our country play that part.

Patient must that servant be,
Not to weary or relax,
Not to break the bruised reed,
Not to quench the smoking flax.
Grant us, Lord, in this dear land,
Not to scorn the means at hand.

Only through such service, Lord,
Can the curse of warfare cease;
Only out of righteousness
Can there come the fruit of peace.
Lead us, Lord, we humbly pray
In this one and only way.

—*William P. Merrill, 1944.*

"God of Our History." [3]—Tune, "Dort."

God of our history,
Our fathers worshipped Thee
With one accord.
They were from many lands,
Of many creeds and clans,
But Thee, with lifted hands,
They all adored!

God of the present hour,
Send forth Thy saving power
In this our day;
Grant us the grace to see,
In our diversity,
Thy bond of unity—
Father, we pray.

Blend Thou our liberty
With true fraternity
The world around,
'Til every land be free
To trust not only Thee
But all humanity,
And peace abound.

God of our destiny,
Be this old litany
Our staff and rod:
"Do justly" while we may,
"Love mercy" day by day,
"Walk humbly" all the way
With Thee our God!

—*M. Willard Lampe, 1944.*

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[2] These hymns by Dr. Merrill and Dr. Lampe are among the twelve new Hymns of Christian Patriotism which The Hymn Society of America has obtained during the past year, and is about to publish.

[3] Copyright, 1945, The Hymn Society of America. Used by permission.

April Plans

I. *Are you planning to hold a World Order Workshop during April?*

This is the time, if your Church has not already had one. The leader's guide *The Cost of World Order* and Paul Hutchinson's book *From Victory to Peace* should be supplemented with the findings of the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace held in Cleveland.

II. *Are you planning to use, during April, the correspondence by the Church and Church groups with members in the armed services in the interests of world order?*

They need help as we do in their thinking. They need the help that comes from knowing that their own Church is concerned and active. Write them about the World Order Movement of the Presbyterian Church; tell them about what your and their local Church has been doing; send them *A Primer on World Order*. They will enjoy it.

III. *Are you planning a Service of Commitment, preferably April 22?*

The "Sanctuary" in this issue includes two hitherto unpublished hymns by two Presbyterians which can be appropriately used for such a service. Also, the card "My Personal Commitment to Action for Christian World Order" may be used. This may be had free in quantity.

The note of commitment by the individual Christian is of vital importance, for the World Order Movement will be seriously weakened if the people of the Churches fail to give it consistent and wholehearted support. Peacemaking is a process; it is not accomplished by a single act. "Be ye stedfast" is the call to those who would be God's agents.

IV. *Are you planning a program of action in support of what is currently important for world order?*

This may be carried on equally well as a part of a World Order Workshop or as a follow-up of one held earlier. Here are suggestions.

First Phase

The immediate issue in the next few months is international organization. This comes before us not as a general proposition but as the specific proposals of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. The immediate issue should therefore be rephrased in terms of the outcome of these proposals. Such was clearly the mind of the Cleveland Conference as reported elsewhere in this issue.

The timetable of events may be projected somewhat as follows:

1. By March 1 the President will have returned from his conferences with Churchill and Stalin. Major questions purposely left unsettled at Dumbarton Oaks will presumably have been ironed out.

2. A full meeting of the United Nations to act upon the proposed charter will be called for, probably in April or near that time. At that conference recommendations for changes will be discussed.

3. With the United Nations Organization constituted according to the charter as finally revised, each nation through its appropriate agency will register its decision to join or otherwise. For the United States this means the Senate. This debate will bring us into the summer at the earliest. Here will be the crucial test. The Churches need to be thinking now in terms of their participation in this national decision of momentous consequences for mankind.

Second Phase

We are, therefore, in the second period of discussion and possible revision. The Cleveland Conference gave two strong leads for action to the Churches at this point:

1. It voiced its sense of urgency in the "recommendation for specific, immediate action," in which the Conference declared, "We urge a meeting of the United Nations at the earliest possible moment, to consider the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals."

2. While recommending "that the Churches support the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals as an important step in the direction of world co-operation," the Conference went on to "urge the following measures for their improvement . . . which will make them more acceptable to the Christian conscience."

It is at this point that the members of our Churches may "work for decisions regarding international problems which are based upon Christian principles" as urged by the 156th General Assembly in the following ways:

1. Communicate to the President their desire for the good offices of the United States on behalf of an *early* meeting of the United Nations.

2. Communicate to the President suggestions for change in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals in keeping with the Six Pillars of Peace and the Cleveland Conference Findings.

3. Send to the local newspapers a similar letter, thus contributing to the public discussion of the issue.

Let the World Order Committee of each Church begin now to enlist the understanding and support of Church leaders and groups for meeting the opportunity for action at this crucial time in our history.

Advance from Cleveland

(Continued from page 4)

the important thing is to keep the faith, however it is stated. The findings include the call to put our own house in order, both as a nation and as a Church, if we are to be effective for world unity and peace. There is a reminder of Christian principles with reference to enemy peoples and insistence upon the fact that Germany and Japan still are and will be in the family of nations. There is a call for the definition of universal human rights. There is indictment of the scandal that exists in regard to dependent peoples, and of the continuing menace of imperialism. Not least of all is to be found a message to the people of the Christian fellowship in other lands, particularly those cut off from us by the tragedy of war. "Even now we assure you that you are near to us in prayer . . . ."

The testing ground of the conference is found in the attitude toward the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Here is where the tension between the ideal and the practical was relaxed. If it can be said that the majority of the conference demanded a realistic support of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, it is equally true that a minority, composed of the Friends and their allies of kindred mind and spirit, commonly called pacifists, helped immeasurably in the statement of the conditions under which that support can be given in harmony with the Christian conscience. The meeting of minds at the last was remarkable and all but complete.

The Friends came to the conference having already released a statement on Dumbarton Oaks through their Committee on National Legislation. They had stated, "We can look only with apprehension upon the potential domination of the projected United Nations Organization by the big powers . . . ." But they went on to say: "We believe the United States

should strive vigorously for the development of an adequate world organization. While we think that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals fall far short of what is required and contain serious dangers, we nevertheless recognize them as opening the way for progress and would encourage our Government, in co-operation with the other nations, to proceed with the task of developing them into a democratic and satisfying system for achieving international peace, justice, and good will."

When all was said and done the conference recognized Dumbarton Oaks as "the only plan which Governments have thus far evolved," and providing certain necessary and essential principles for world order and peace. Then the conference defined the attitude which it commends to the Churches:

"These proposals now stand at a formative stage and thus permit recommendations for improvement which will make them more acceptable to the Christian conscience. Accordingly we recommend that the Churches support the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as an important step in the direction of world co-operation, but because we do not approve them in their entirety as they now stand, we urge the following measures for their improvement." Then are listed a preamble and eight definite proposals. The recommendation on the preamble reads: "A preamble should reconfirm those present and long-range purposes of justice and human welfare which are set forth in the Atlantic Charter and which reflect the aspirations of peoples everywhere."

Cleveland was in no mood to back down on the Atlantic Charter, so it was tied up to the world organization! Furthermore, the conference regarded the *fact* of Dumbarton Oaks as more important than the tentative proposals it had set forth. It declared the continued collaboration to be the vital thing, and it listed some conditions without which there could be no peace or security, and without which also the support of ethical and spiritual forces could not be counted on. Among the recommended improvements of Dumbarton Oaks are the following:

1. The Charter should clearly anticipate the operation of the Organization under international law and should provide for the development and codification of international law, to the end that there shall be the progressive subordination of force to law.

2. A nation, while having the right to discuss its own case, should not be permitted to vote when its case is being judged in accordance with predetermined international law.

3. In order to permit such changes in the Charter of the Organization as may from time to time become necessary, the provision for amendments should be liberalized, so as not to require concurrence by all the permanent members of the Security Council.

4. There should be provisions designed more clearly to protect and defend the smaller nations from possible subjection to the arbitrary power of the great.

These things, together with an appeal to the Government to proclaim in explicit terminology its long-range goals, indicate the determination for practical action without compromising the ideals of the Kingdom of God.

IV

Finally, Cleveland called upon the Churches to initiate programs for education and action. It was encouraging to discover that much machinery is already in existence. The denominations, as well as the Federal Council itself and other allied organizations are now well organized to arouse public opinion and channel it into deeds. The Conference was on guard against the danger of making solemn pronouncements for ecclesiastical archives. As the delegates turned homeward they had cause to believe they had helped to stimulate and encourage the right kind of leadership from the Government and the people.

Some Won't March Down Fifth Avenue

(Continued from page 11)

make adjustments to their situations and to face the future with fortitude.

By such a process of visitation throughout the country the C.O.'s will be brought to understand what they will face in the postwar world. They will come to know, for example, that the serviceman who belittles them for the stand they have taken with regard to war is perhaps admiring them at the same time for doing the thing he himself was unable to do.

The conscientious objectors' problem of employment must become a concern of the Church. Whereas the returning serviceman will have Government aid until he finds employment, up to a designated point, and will have Government aid in seeking employment or being restored to his old job, no such provision is made for the conscientious objectors. Nor will they have any Governmental aid for dependents, or hospitalization provided when they are ill.

Many of their attempts to find employment will meet with rebuffs when potential employers ask regarding their service records. The Church can help these men by organizing an employment committee, composed of persons interested in aiding those returning conscientious objectors who are not planning to go into some type of work on their own, such as farming or continuing their education. Considerably in advance of the close of the war, such a committee would be able to discover employers in the vicinity who would be willing to employ conscientious objectors with "no questions asked."

Some C.O.'s will be entering the ministry or some form of humanitarian service. A writer from England advances the opinion that, since the conscientious objector has taken his stand on his individual conscience, he must complete his stand after the war by devoting himself to society. "He cannot justifiably refuse to obey the call which the nation makes on him unless he dedicates himself to the service of the community for all the tomorrows." Many will want to do that, since in refusing to participate in war they have been acting as much out of concern for the future of human society as out of loyalty to conscience.

The second phase of the program which the Church might advance in the postwar world is the channeling of the ambitions and energies of the conscientious objectors so as to help them to make the most of their desire for service.

The Northern Baptist Convention has stated its official attitude in the postwar world thus: "We do recognize them [the conscientious objectors] as sincere fellow Christians, and upon their return to civilian life, urge our Churches to strengthen the bond of fellowship with them, and to render them the same kind of service in respect to securing jobs and finding a place in the community as we give to those who have borne arms."

Men from Civilian Public Service will be critical of the Church program, but, by providing opportunities to serve and help, the Church should be able to win the confidence and make good use of these men. People will one day forget their intolerance and will become actively interested again in a lasting peace. Two C.P.S. men recently expressed their postwar desire to remain in their denomination (Methodist) and to help in the efforts of peace. Said they, "By working in and through our Sunday School, our Youth Fellowship, the Wesley Foundation, the Methodist colleges, and the service and mission programs, we have the opportunity of furthering the pacifist way of life where outsiders cannot be effective."

If the Churches become aware of the problem of the returning conscientious objectors, and create an effective program, they will find that in solving this problem they profit by utilizing the abilities of many men ready to contribute their time and talents to the service of society.

Toward a Democratic America

(Continued from page 13)

Instead of clutching more and more executive power, the people think this war should have been waged by throwing more and more responsibility out upon them, thereby bringing into play and utilizing the whole energies of the people, and their voluntary initiative. For this reason, I think a national service act would still go over big.

If we earnestly wish to satisfy the popular desire for increased local responsibility, we must consider one of the greatest obstacles to social efficiency on the local level—the conservative, prosperous, middle-class leadership that dominates many of our local governments and private welfare agencies.

Nevertheless, voluntary charitable bodies must be given the credit for initiating our whole social welfare structure. Such social justice as exists today was born of yesterday's pity. So important are the past and present contributions of voluntary welfare work to our society that democracy is inconceivable without it. Therefore, its leaders must recognize that they have not kept pace with the tempo of the times, and that, unless they face themselves critically at once, they may become one of the most serious barriers to progress.

To be sure, in highly organized towns and cities we already have co-ordinated machinery in the councils of social agencies and community chests. Why can't these institutions function successfully to eliminate duplication, inefficiency, and waste? You know the answer. It would be necessary to step on somebody's toes.

Yet if voluntary effort is to remain voluntary, the reform must come from within. I have such faith in the vision, courage, and intelligence of our people that I am convinced the reform will come from within when the realization spreads that our American communities are still selfishly oriented and that this blindness endangers the country's future.

What else but the most cruel selfishness leads prosperous communities to neglect, yes, positively to hate and to fear, the war workers in their midst? The animosity which I found in almost every large war center from coast to coast, and from north to south, between the native citizens and the migrant workers was created by the immediate juxtaposition in the streets, schools, busses, and movie houses of widely separated levels of American civilization. If the war workers deserted the factories in droves, it was largely due to the fact that they were not welcomed in the war centers.

The C.I.O., a young and progressive union, has realized the impasse between their workers and our welfare machinery, and has set up its own welfare program, or, failing that, has established guidance bureaus as a bridge over the chasm between the two groups. But the older unions of the A. F. of L. are still suspicious and often openly hostile to welfare workers. I asked a national official of the A. F. of L. why this attitude persists. "Don't forget," said he, "that we are older than the C.I.O. In the days when we were fighting for a child labor bill, for workmen's compensation, and unemployment insurance, many of the distinguished members of these charitable boards were our bitterest opponents. With one hand they wanted to bind up the wounds which society had dealt the workers, but with the other they struck out against legislation that would have prevented these festering social diseases from spreading."

What private philanthropy needs most is a complete reorientation of mind and heart. It must learn to work *with* the people, not *for* them. It must become not the champion but the voice of the people.

To revamp our cluttered community services and strip them down for efficient action on the widest possible

scale, every city should set up a central group of five or six of its ablest citizens, men and women with critical judgment who are able to get the facts and evaluate them. Power must be conferred upon this committee to act not only on reorganization, but to initiate methods by which all serious gaps in the local welfare program could be filled. The councils of social agencies should invite industry and labor, the chambers of commerce, professional leaders, and the Church groups to join their boards, so that every group will realize to what an extent its own interests are at stake.

Above all, both public and private welfare bodies must center their efforts upon the schools in a preventive program that will eliminate in time the shameful health record of this country as revealed by the rejection by the armed forces of 5,000,000 young men who were physically unfit for military service. And since the acute cases of maladjustment, neglect, and continuing need as opposed to emergency are now handled by public welfare and the courts, the chief efforts of private agencies should be concentrated upon preventive work, not only to improve the nation's health but also its moral stamina.

We should accelerate also the movement toward orderly social procedure on a local level, so that the communities can do a good job of adjusting the returning veterans to civil life. No matter how efficient the Federal program for G. I. Joe may be, the major problem is one of local service, local rehabilitation, and a local job if he is going to feel that the home town appreciated the sacrifices he has made for our safety and freedom.

It will be difficult to achieve a full mobilization of our local communities unless the Churches join wholeheartedly in the movement. On the whole, the problem of the Protestant Churches parallels that of the voluntary welfare groups. The class consciousness, the economic point of view, and psychology are the same with the same result—that the mass of the population is not reached spiritually or with such efforts at social work as are attempted.

This suggests the possibility not only of a more co-ordinated Protestant social movement on a local level but an important step toward closer co-operation with the whole field of local public and private welfare work.

In the war centers I found many of your Churches doing a good job for the visiting soldiers, but nowhere did I find the Churches of any denomination giving leadership to their communities in the establishment of better relations between the native population and the war workers or the military camps. In communities where there was a good social spirit and good social organization, there the Church also did constructive work. But where these relationships were fearful or hostile, the Churches, by and large, followed the dominant pattern of community thought and behavior. In backward cities, I regret to say the Churches were frequently on the side of reaction.

To offset that picture, let me say that I found the Young Women's Christian Association leading the way amongst all social agencies in many a war center. People as a whole still expect Church leadership, and they will be only too happy to follow it if it is genuinely Christian and unselfish in its motivation. Whence shall the humility of spirit come that will bring about a new brotherhood of man if not from the Church? Religion, whatever else it may be, is the experience of social relationships emotionally felt. The translation of the true Christian spirit into active social programs would again give the common man confidence in the mission of the Church. Inspired social leadership of this sort might even bring the mass of the people back to the Church. I can see nothing else that will.

Therefore, it seems to me that a united social effort of all the Churches with the local community's social structure is a crucial choice that lies before you.

The Church in Rural Life

(Continued from page 16)

Farmers are gradually getting better and more modern houses, better farm machinery, better livestock. Farm employees, including migrant farm laborers, are finding throughout the nation socially minded people who are concerned that they shall have decent wages, better working hours, sanitary and healthful living conditions, food, shelter, education and social advantages for their families. However, in this area we have far to go before we have any just cause for national or community complacency.

We will not have done our work through the rural Churches of America until these people—farm owners, farm tenants, farm laborers—have a just share of the nation's income and participate in the advantages of the more abundant American living. Until these have been achieved, we cannot hope for either a stable rural life or a worthy democracy.

Co-operation in Rural Life

The Country Life Commission directed attention to the need of national and state legislation to facilitate the development of co-operative organizations.

The growth of farmers' co-operatives, particularly those of the type of the Farm Bureau in Ohio and Pennsylvania, is very encouraging. The history of the Co-operative Movement, in this country as well as in Europe, seems to indicate that it is the best method of enabling farmers to handle their own business in the most efficient manner in competition with organizations representing labor and industry. In fact farmers' co-operatives are among the most important organizations in rural life today.

Most farmers know from living in the community among neighbors that co-operation in itself is a good thing. It has been known and cherished from frontier days in America. The movement has already proved its material and spiritual worth to rural people wherever it has been given a chance. It tends to preserve, rather than to destroy, the rural virtues which we cherish. Co-operation is a natural Christian interest, providing a practical strategy to obtain Christian objectives. Co-operatives are a direct application in economic and social areas of life of the spiritual and ethical principles that the Churches have been preaching for centuries. They are among the few organizations that believe in open membership, welcoming all people regardless of race, religion, politics, or economic or social status.

Co-operation would put this song in the heart of every farmer: "I live not alone. I live on the products of our soil—soil which *we* have kept holy, sustaining the yield year by year. I live by our common toil in the town or on the land, at the desk or between the rows of growing grain. I eat, drink, dance, sing, and play, not alone, but with all the people created by God—white, black, red, and brown—in a glorious chorus of my fellows. I worship at a common altar beneath the cross of Christ, and through him meet my God and my fellows.

"Without these co-operative relationships, God to me would be far off, men would fight and bring hell to earth, and there would be no peace. But I believe in the great Christian tradition. For two thousand years it has lifted human life to new fellowship with God and man."

It is now possible, I believe, for America to achieve the greatest social reconstruction the world has ever known. By accepting responsibility to lead in the rehabilitation of a broken world, America can move into the greatest age of creativity in our history, and thus reinstate the principles of the Christian religion. In all this the Church must lead the way, and it must begin at home, right here, in rural America—in every rural community.

Business Has a Stake in World Order

(Continued from page 19)

there is no record of any such triumvirate which did not terminate in new rivalry for exclusive power within a relatively short time.

Free enterprise at this state of industrial advancement needs to have many problems solved or administered on a world basis which would only be aggravated by regionalism, alliances, or spheres of influence. One is air traffic; another, ocean transportation. In the reasonably near future, far-flung questions involved in "freedom of the air" and "freedom of the sea" must be resolved on a world basis to prevent extravagant overbuilding of maritime equipment with deadly competition in sea transportation, and literal chaos in the air above.

American business needs the immediate help of world organization for the spread of higher labor standards, higher health standards, and generally higher standards of living. Without this, we shall soon be urged to enact higher tariffs, more stringent trade quotas, and export subsidies, if not quarantines, which, in turn, would slow down rather than facilitate essential world progress.

Business needs a world organization to accept and administer the necessary mandates over colonial areas in all cases where the people are not yet ready for self-government. Any other type of mandate has invariably led toward the exploitation of such subordinated people and toward the selfish development and unfair apportionment of the natural resources of such areas. Individual enterprise has no reason to hope that it can deal as successfully in the markets of areas mandated to a foreign power as can the nationals of the favored government or the rival governments in a world which would thus remain on a power-politics basis.

Business needs the protection of world courts which have acknowledged jurisdiction across international boundary lines. It needs to know that international policing power will implement the decision of such courts. Business needs a world clearinghouse of economic facts, such as the League of Nations was beginning to make available before this war.

Business needs international financial machinery that has a truly world foundation. Such world-based financial facilities would constitute a historic advance toward controlling inflationary and deflationary forces, such as gained dangerous momentum in Germany in the early 1920's and in the United States in the later years of that decade.

Most of all, business needs world organization for its rationalizing influence on the plans of American and British enterprise in both their domestic and foreign fields. In recent decades business policy in both countries has suffered from illusions of grandeur—from a conviction that the markets of large world areas almost belonged to them. There is great danger now that our people may assume that, because Old Glory has led us to victory on the battlefield, it should lead us to victories in world commerce—that its prestige should command world markets for our "surplus" production.

It is a deadening philosophy to concede that our way of life is less competent for consumption than production. That implies, and inevitably becomes, the exploitation of the common man. Until that principle is repudiated—until the British and American economies accept responsibility for developing purchasing power in their home markets to match their home production—foreign commerce for these countries will involve not only the dumping of sweat-produced merchandise without adequate return, but also a continuous challenge to the peace of the world.

The Workshop

Women Promote S.E.A. The presbyterial secretaries sent literature to local societies with suggestions for study and action; they spoke at district and local meetings, wrote many letters, urged subscriptions to SOCIAL PROGRESS, circulated petitions related to current legislation; and one reported an entire afternoon program at presbyterial meeting devoted to Social Education and Action centering around a panel discussion. Because of this promotional work we report 324 local Social Education and Action secretaries—an increase of 28.

Work Done

It is interesting to note that SOCIAL PROGRESS is widely used for program "news items" and study, that the synodical secretary's play *So This Is Social Education and Action* was given in many societies and some presbyterial meetings, and that other materials prepared by the department were found most helpful.

It is further interesting to list some of the *projects*, aside from presbyterial neighborhood houses and community centers, which furnished the "Action" of the past year. Here are some of these: Sponsoring Vacation Bible School; helping mothers to plan clothes and food where money was scarce and mothers "poor planners"; opening the church for soldiers to entertain parents and friends on Saturday and Sunday; fighting the sale of liquor to minors; sending Testaments, devotional literature, letters, cards, gifts, and boxes to soldiers; having Church suppers and socials for servicemen; doing Red Cross and U.S.O. work; working among children in a trailer camp; having a village forum to study and discuss the "Basis for a Just and Durable Peace"; [1] providing recreational rooms for defense workers; sewing for a local "burned out" family; a luncheon project for underprivileged children; paying for supplies for the community nurse; sending aid to Japanese in internment camps; working with united Churches for juvenile delinquents; helping with a health center; having exchange programs with Negro groups; ninety *letters* sent from one group to President Roosevelt protesting vice around Army camps; and last I quote from the report of Philadelphia North's secretary (my successor): "Further evidence of the social conscience of the women of the Church was demonstrated by their compassionate concern for the experience through which Japanese Christians in this country were passing. Letters were sent conveying messages of sympathy for the pain and loss they were experiencing and to assure them of our continued interest and our prayers that all of their needs might be met."

It is most gratifying and heart-warming to see how service-through-action projects have increased, and how completely our five channels for the year just ended have been used.

For Coming Emphasis

Today, as never before, there is special need for emphasis on Social Education and Action. The following are pressingly important. They require intelligent study, followed by constructive and concerted action:

1. The liquor evil and vice.
2. Plans for the peace. [2]
3. The wartime community, whether rural, industrial, or residential.
4. Problems related to industry, and social problems tied up with them.

[1] The study for such a group now would be "The Cost of World Order." See description and price on page 40.

[2] This year special study and planning will center in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for world organization and co-operation.

5. Race relations.

There are problems resulting from the employment of mothers, as well as fathers, in war industries, the care needed by their children and the growing problem of juvenile deliquency. The last named we have seen grow out of delinquent homes and delinquent parents. Real homes grow fewer these days. Crowded living is not conducive to a healthy social life. Adults are busy about many things, and children come home to empty houses without parental presence, love, and understanding, without which a home cannot exist. If our homes are failing, the Church must not fail, and it must shoulder the responsibility.

Its doors must be open to youth activities for more and more hours. It must be a community center if need be, to save from delinquency the neglected children of America's homes-that-are-no-more. It has a responsibility for caring for the children of working mothers. What better place for them than the Church? It can no longer be a place just for worship and Church suppers for Church members and for selfish concerns of quiet nicety. It must give itself to the saving of the youth of today for tomorrow's peace. THIS IS A JOB FOR OUR CHURCH WOMEN. *Reported by Laureame M. Royer, Secretary for Social Education and Action, Pennsylvania Synodical.*

"Social Education and Action" are no longer strange and new words to us, for they have become so familiar that they could well be thought of as the theme song of the Christian.

War, like a depression, is a great leveler. Regardless of color or creed, the men go out to fight and the women who stay at home do Red Cross sewing, surgical dressings, home nursing, and first-aid work. And so it has come to the women of the First Presbyterian Church of Ashland, Kentucky, that we, too, are a link in this great chain of service for freedom. We have sponsored one home nursing class (of six weeks) for a group of colored women, and every Monday night for sixteen months we have had Red Cross sewing for the colored women of the city. They have made dozens of garments and all of them are perfectly done. As we sew together we try to think and see together beyond the sewing.

The members of our Chinese family are fine friends who always welcome our visits and are most pleasing to us. The war has brought sorrow to them through the loss of a son in action, so it has been an opportune time for us to show unusual friendliness.

Visiting with the other denominations has been our outstanding work this year. We have attended services at the Salvation Army, the Jewish Temple, and the Churches of the different denominations. For our annual Social Education and Action Auxiliary program, we had as our guests the presidents of the missionary societies of the Episcopal, Lutheran, Baptist, Methodist, Christian, and Catholic Churches, the president of the Sisterhood of the Jewish Temple, and the wife of the captain of the Salvation Army—a colorful, delightful group around a Presbyterian luncheon table. Not too long ago it might have been thought of as impossible in our community.

Each person was introduced with appropriate remarks about her place of worship or the accomplishments of her people. Mention was made of the beauty and inspiration of the Episcopal Church; the Lutherans' entrance of cedars and lighted cross; the Baptists' faithful stewardship of self and possessions for missions; the union of the Northern and Southern Methodists; the Christians' practice of the Good Neighbor policy; and the Catholic bell that has rung so faithfully down through the years. *Reported by Bess Fosson, Secretary for Social Education and Action, First Presbyterian Church, Ashland, Kentucky.*

About Books

U.S.S.R.: The Story of Soviet Russia, by Walter Duranty. Lippincott. $3.00.

Torn between admiration and apprehension, many Americans, even when they see U. S. friendship with the U.S.S.R. as pivotal in any lasting peace, voice the fear bred of twenty-five turbulent, befogged years: *But can we trust Russia?* Some dourly respond: What else? A few would clasp hands unreservedly, while another predicts that conflict between us is inevitable, and a majority "just don't know." Assailing this "enigma wrapped in a mystery" attitude, Walter Duranty—an eyewitness so objective that fellow correspondents don't know where he "stands"—has written a dramatic outline of Soviet history that brushes away myths, emotional moralistic comparisons and conjecture, and provides a circumstantial explanation rather than a Devil-Marxist theory.

"The given" in the situation, argues Duranty, was composed of a flat land vulnerable to invasion and demanding central authority; a primitive agriculture with an individualist 80 per cent peasant population; a rotted Czardom tottering on a chaotic World War I economy devoid of industry; a revolutionary philosophy and a remarkable leader, Lenin, who captured power and exercised it ruthlessly to forge a strong and therefore modernized proletarian nation. Stalin's later abandonment of internationalism and compromises with capitalistic incentives were to gain the prime objective, an end which required mechanization of agriculture and swift industrialization whatever the cost might be in famine and liquidation of domestic opponents.

In 1933 Stalin perceived Hitler's intentions to defy Versailles and rule Europe and realized that he would fight Russia necessarily for the resources of the Ukraine. Hence, avers Duranty, came Stalin's wound at Munich and subsequent pact with Hitler involving Poland's partition—to buy time to prepare physical reserves and to prepare his people patriotically for war. The Five Year Plan and the Second Five Year Plan were astounding achievements, attested both by Eric Johnston's figure that Russian production rose 600 per cent from 1928 to 1938 and the unsuspected might, organization, and unity apparent in the victories won by the Red Army.

Though real differences in mores in business, religion, home, and democracy remain, Bolshevism has "never been fixed but fluid, not a state but a process," so that the earlier "outrages" against Democratic-Christian-Capitalist societies have been either eliminated or greatly modified. International Marxism has made practical adjustments to human needs and nationalistic requirements. All this and more were signalized in the Moscow Statement of 1943, which "involved the recognition by the United States and Britain of Russia's passage from the larval state of revolutionary pariah, through an indeterminate cocoon period of half-friend, half-foe, to full acceptance as an ally and great power."

Duranty also speaks from the record to show that the U. S. and the U.S.S.R., despite ideological differences, have never clashed but have surprisingly supported each other in time of need. At the close of this war will come our further chance to co-operate, because Russia will want peace and reconstruction. We shall hold the key to the peace, for only America will be able to provide the credits and machines which Russia must have for reconstruction.

RALPH NORMAN MOULD

State of the Nation, by John Dos Passos. Houghton Mifflin. $3.00.

One of America's top-drawer novelists has taken a twelve-month swing around the country to see what his fellow citizens are doing and thinking under the impact and compulsions of war. He has written a penetrating social document as colorfully sustained in its human warmth, imagery, and regional sketches as fine fiction. How fares democracy, defined as self-government, and our unifying system of liberties, is the friendly traveler's line of investigation, whether he talks with Yankee shipbuilders, Detroit labor-management (production) committeemen, Southern Farm Bureau leaders, the men who dig the coal in Pennsylvania, Pacific waterfront workers, soldiers, Cleveland industrialists, taxi drivers, or tired liberals in Washington.

Acknowledging miracles of production despite thinly veiled class conflict, and internecine bickering at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, Dos Passos seems at once thrilled by the magnificence of material achievement and saddened by the self-seeking that coils venomously about the nation. People have more money, power, and drama at their fingertips than ever before. They are warmly dressed and well fed. Nonetheless, they betray a basic frustration, a spiritual blankness that makes them drift by, "helpless and fragile and faceless as dry leaves blown along the gutter by a gust of wind." So few really know where they are going or what they want the country to become, with the inevitable result of weltering cross-purposes and frictions. Nerves, whisky, juke boxes, slot machines, night life, are some of the escape mechanisms.

The Army has spent its money to get the most, quickest. This means that big business has been built up and small business reduced to handouts. One unnamed Senator is quoted as saying: "Cartels—they are sweeping everything before them—our society is headed toward monopoly, restraint of competition, enforced scarcity on a great scale—and little likelihood of stopping it."

More optimistic are the thousands of rural folk of the Midwest and Northwest who have brought about a prodigious growth in Co-operatives, where control is taken away from absentee bureaucrats and commission men and put back into the hands of community councils, whose manifold enterprises have now passed from the marketing to the producing and processing stages. Some call it Communistic, and others call it self-help and the restoration of local group initiative. Grand Coulee Dam, which the wartime industry has facilitated, seems to many—and to Dos Passos—to pose the real question for America's future: Can public planning and credit be adequately used to mitigate the failures and evoke the potentialities of economic democracy without coming under big-boss rule? It is what we are fighting for, and America is still young, fluid, and possessed of uncanny know-how. Of religion's place, its faith and motives, Dos Passos has unfortunately almost nothing to report. The Christian reader will perceive a hundred blank spaces to fill in if hope is not to be stalled in disillusionment.

RALPH NORMAN MOULD

A Time to Act, by Archibald MacLeish. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.

This war, says Archibald MacLeish, is a war of men and machines, but it is also a war of ideas. In this book of selected addresses the poet, orator, and administrator writes about the war of ideas in the poetry for which he is justly noted and in equally telling prose. The book begins with a striking poem, "Colloquy for the States," and closes with a hymn on freedom, "The Western Sky"—words for a song. Between the two are thirteen addresses on the relation of America to the world at war and to the postwar world. E.G.R.

Study and Action

***World Order Movement Pamphlets**

The Cost of World Order. A four-period study guide for World Order Workshops in the local Church. *Single copy, free.*

Declarations on World Order. Statements of the General Assemblies of 1943 and 1944. *Single copy, free; additional copies, 3 cents each.*

Primer on World Order. Brief, colorful presentation of Christianity at work in international relations. *Single copy, free; additional copies, 3 cents each.*

Primer on Politics. (Available March 1.) Simple, direct outline of the need of political action in support of world organization and the methods which Christians may employ in meeting their responsibilities as citizens. *Single copy, free; additional copies, 3 cents each.*

Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid in Europe. *15 cents.*

World Order Takes Shape. International Conferences from Hot Springs through Dumbarton Oaks. *5 cents.*

Worship Services. "This Nation Under God" and "On This Foundation." *$1.00 a hundred.*

Commitment to Action for Christian World Order. A card for individual use. *Free.*

Industrial Relations

The Church and Industrial Relations. Report of the Department of Social Education and Action to the General Assembly. Contains a discussion guide for the use of Church groups and a bibliography. *10 cents.*

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Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

Mr. Emmanuel—with Felix Aylmer, Greta Gynt, Walter Rilla. (United Artists.) A powerful and well-made study of anti-Semitism in the prewar Reich. An aged Englishman of Jewish blood goes to Germany to find out what has happened to the mother of a refugee boy. His simple inquiries bring him under suspicion and finally into the hands of the Gestapo. He is released through the intervention of friends, completes his mission, and returns to Britain. The film is notable for excellent acting, good direction, and effective use of sound and camera. **Family.**

Can't Help Singing—with Deanna Durbin, Robert Paige, Akim Tamiroff. (Universal.) This technicolor musical of the 1850's is a glorified Western in which the music vies with the scenery for interest. The improbable story swings from the East Coast to California, has something of the quality and style of an operetta, and is saved from mediocrity by bits of comedy. Much of the action takes place as the wagon train makes its way across the continent and ends in a fiesta in California. **Family.**

Guest in the House—with Anne Baxter, Ralph Bellamy. (Stromberg-United Artists.) Adapted from a stage play, this film centers around a neurotic but harmless young woman who is invited to visit the family of her doctor-fiance. As a beautiful vial may exude subtle poison, she diffuses an evil influence through a normal happy household. This study in psychiatry is at the same time an absorbing drama. Little change has been made from the play, but against the fine pictorial backgrounds the problem seems to assume greater significance. The musical score is effective and the cast adequate. **Adults.**

Music for Millions—with Margaret O'Brien and José Iturbi. (MGM.) José Iturbi is featured as a symphony conductor, and Margaret O'Brien as a wee girl with unshakable trust in God. Classical music, brilliantly performed, has seldom been presented to the motion picture public in such palatable form. The story into which it is woven is simple and moving, with warm human relationships and spontaneous touches of comedy, a charming setting for a wide range of contrasting selections, the heart of the production. It will delight all ages. **Family.**

Between Two Women—with Van Johnson and Lionel Barrymore. (MGM.) Another episode involving young Dr. Adams, protege of Blair Hospital's Dr. Gillespie. It is a mediocre story with the value of psychoanalysis in overcoming fear and its consequences as its theme. It is a loosely woven hodgepodge of irrelevant and long-drawn-out elements, exaggerated and oversentimentalized. The film lacks the human touches and the crusty humor of former episodes. **Adults.**

Sunday Dinner for a Soldier—with Anne Baxter, John Hodiak. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) Despite their extreme poverty, the Osbornes, a motherless brood living on a ramshackle houseboat off a Florida beach, make eager plans to entertain a lonesome soldier. Quaint and winsome, this unusual comedy drama gives us, with somewhat the atmosphere of Dickens, something beautiful and rich in human values. The story is studded with humor and bits of philosophy in which understanding, tolerance, and love are the keynotes. The setting is charming and thoroughly convincing and the character portrayals satisfying. **Family.**

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